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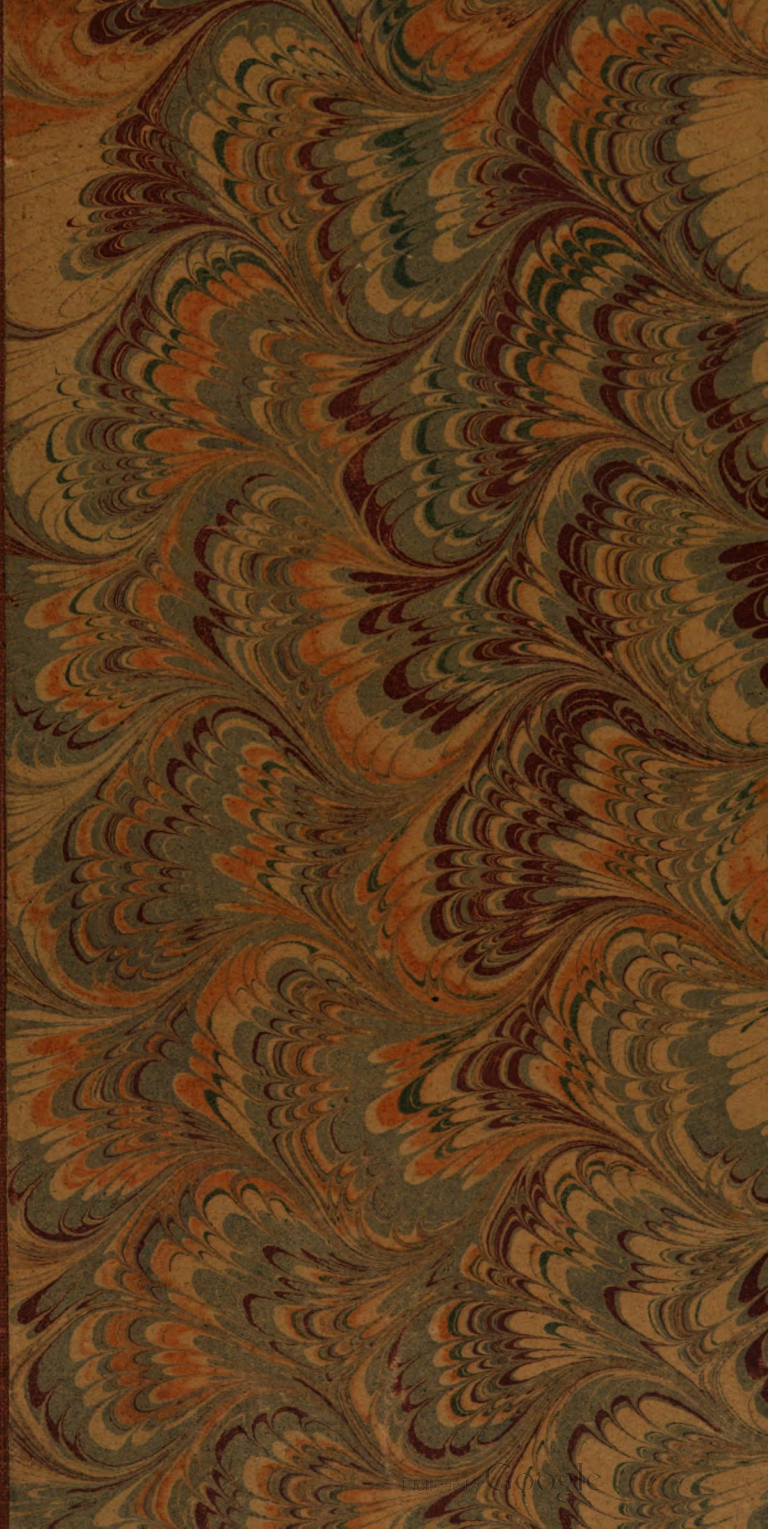
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REMARKS
ON THE
PRESENT STATE OF JAMAICA,

WITH A
PROPOSAL OF MEASURES

FOR THE
RESUSCITATION OF OUR WEST INDIAN COLONIES



BY
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SOCIETY, JAMAICA.

LONDON :
SMITH, ELDER, AND CO., 65, CORNHILL.
MDCCCXLVIII.

Price One Shilling.

522.14 r. 7.

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REMARKS, & c.

THE result of the evidence recently taken before Lord George Bentinck's Committee on Sugar and Coffee Plantations, unequivocally testifies that our West Indian colonies are on the brink of ruin.

The deep-toned murmurs of distress and the despair of the colonists themselves ; the fervid remonstrances and solemn protestations of the local legislatures ; the energetic addresses of the Jamaica Chamber of Commerce, responded to by every colony ; the disordered interests of merchants, annuitants, and the proprietary body ; as well as the reflex operation of these evils upon the social welfare of the emancipated negroes, indicate that the long-predicted crisis of our unfortunate colonies has at length arrived ; that ruin will be consummated, and that these fair islands will be abandoned, unless a different line of policy be immediately adopted.

It is not my purpose to enter into any inquiry to shew that the slave trade was instituted by the Crown before the English possessed any West Indian colonies ; that it was a royal monopoly declared by the Parliament to be " highly beneficial to the kingdom ;" that patents of land were granted to the colonists, upon the express condition, that the lands so granted should be settled by a stipulated number of slaves ; or that the Agent of Jamaica remonstrated against a further importation of negroes, and was rebuked by the Secretary of State, Lord Dartmouth replying in these memorable words, " We cannot allow the colonies to check or discourage in any degree a traffic so highly beneficial to the nation : " These considerations, together with the abolition of slavery, are all matters of history, and have been reiterated *usque ad nauseam*.

My intention is to shew the urgent necessity of a well-arranged and systematic scheme of European and African immigration, based upon education ; a measure which is a *sine qua non* in the regeneration of the Colonies. As the requirements of the West Indian Islands are similar, I shall take Jamaica as the type of the whole.

Jamaica is one of the most beautiful and fertile islands belonging to the Crown. Considered geographically, politically, commercially, and agriculturally, it is of incalculable importance to Great Britain. From its central position in the Caribbean Archipelago, it forms a key to the gulfs of Mexico, Honduras, and Musquito, and is on the highway from North America to the Pacific by the Isthmus of Panama. The rising power and contiguity of the United States, the restless ambition and enterprise of the Americans, their thirst for territory and desire for colonial possessions, and the covetous eye which they cast upon Cuba and St Domingo, invest Jamaica with a consequence only equalled by its physical advantages.

Jamaica is to the Caribbean Sea and Mexican Gulf what Malta is to the Mediterranean—a rendezvous for our fleets and a *point d'appui* for our military operations. With the spacious harbour of Port-Royal, sufficient to contain her Majesty's navy, on the south-east side ; with Port-Antonio, and its splendid harbour, on the north-east ; with Negril Bay, and its secure anchorage, on the west end of the island, our fleets might diverge from these points in their operations during war. It lies 90 miles south of Cuba, about the same distance west of Hayti, 435 miles north of Carthagena, and about as many easterly of British Honduras. The whole world have their eyes on this magnificent island. It is the grand pivot on which every great operation will hereafter turn in that quarter of the globe ; and when the Pacific and Atlantic shall have mingled their waters,* Jamaica will be-

* In a letter, dated 19th March 1848, which I received from the talented and accomplished engineer, E. M'Geachy, Esq., Crown Surveyor for Jamaica, who, with Lieut. Hutt, R.N., lately surveyed the route across the Isthmus of Panama, and reported favourably of the practicability of railway transit, &c., he observes:—"The world wont wait for the waters of the two oceans to be mingled (by canal), but by Jonathan's go-a-head principle, adopt some more rapid and more easily attained mode, and that will be a railway. A party of American engineers have just gone over there.

come the emporium and half-way house of Europe and America in their commercial transactions with India and China.

The geographical position and physical advantages of this fine island render it of transcendent value to the mother country, and, in the event of a general war, it will become an object of rivalry to Europe and America. It lies in 17 degrees 39, and 18, 36 minutes north latitude, 76 degrees 3 minutes and 78 degrees 34 minutes west longitude; in breadth, upon an average, 30 miles, is about 150 miles in length, and contains about 6400 square miles, or 4,080,000 acres, the greater part of which, being rich exuberant soil, is capable of yielding every kind of tropical production in profusion. There is scarcely an inch of land from the water's edge to the Blue Mountain peak, but might be advantageously cultivated by skill and enterprise.

The physical features and infinite variety of climate, the mines and minerals, the forests and rivers of the "isle of springs," are the admiration and delight of every traveller, and only require population and capital, with protection from slave competition, to develop the innumerable resources of this invaluable colony.

The vested capital of this splendid island was estimated at £60,000,000. The numerous sugar estates and coffee plantations, the wharfs loaded with produce and the harbours crowded with ships, presented a scene of activity and industry unsurpassed by any other part of the world. We may form some idea of the intrinsic value of Jamaica from the following statement of imports and exports, from documents ordered to be printed by the House of Commons in 1815:—

"Hogsheads of sugar, 135,392; puncheons of rum, 73,263; casks of molasses, 518; pounds of coffee, 20,528,275; pounds of cotton, 50,000;

I was introduced to, and had a long conversation with them. Stevens, who wrote the book on Central America, was one of them. This railroad could most advantageously transport to the Pacific goods of all kinds proceeding from Jamaica, &c. There cannot be a doubt of this great fact; it is one of other great natural events now in progress. Will not then Jamaica be cared for?"

Is our Government not as much interested in a thoroughfare to India and China across that narrow isthmus as are the Americans? It is to be hoped that they will avail themselves of Mr M'Geachy's elaborate survey of that interesting district, so that our country may participate in the utility and glory of such an international work.

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pounds of pimento, 2,600,604. Estimated value of the preceding articles, at the following rates:—rum, 2s. 6d. per gallon; sugar, 34s. per cwt.; coffee, 7d. per pound; molasses, 20s. per cwt.; cotton, 9d. per pound; pimento, 6d. per pound;—£5,170,803. Estimated value of miscellaneous articles, including cattle, esculents, fruits, &c., £5,998,858; making a total of £11,159,661. Estimated value of exports to the United Kingdom, £6,885,539; to all other parts, £384,323; exclusive of a valuable trade of which no estimate can be found, which is carried on between Jamaica and several of the Spanish West India Colonies. Estimated value of the imports from the United Kingdom, £3,683,726; from all other parts, £892,207.*

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These rich productions began to decline^{1,575,333} seriously after the commencement of the apprenticeship; and, by the second year of freedom, in 1840, the staple products had dwindled to 34,000 hogsheads of sugar, and 7,000,000 pounds of coffee, with a proportionate decline in rum and pimento. While our Colonies, the right arm of Great Britain, have been declining with such alarming rapidity, the prosperity of slave colonies have been increasing in a reverse proportion. A few examples will illustrate these lamentable facts:—

In 1836, Jamaica made 1,136,554 cwt. sugar.—(*Blue Book*.)

In 1840, Jamaica fell off to 545,600 cwt. ditto.

In 1836, Porto Rico made 498,000 cwt. of sugar.

In 1840, Porto Rico increased to 1,000,000 cwt. ditto.

In 1837, Cuba made 9,060,058 arrobas of sugar (Turnbull), equal to 132,765 hogsheads of sugar; and, in the same year, 53,339,175 pounds of Coffee.

In 1841, Cuba increased to 139,000 hogsheads of sugar; and, in the same year, made 75,000,000 pounds of Coffee.

(*Cuba, from an Essay by H. Vendrys.—Jamaica Standard, 1843.*)

In 1847, "from 1st January to the 28th December, there were cleared from Havanna and Matanzas, 1,004,496 boxes; and from other parts of the island, as far as heard, 280,308 boxes—1,284,804. The total crop of Cuba for 1847, as near as can be calculated, 1,320,000 boxes (264,000 tons); and it is calculated that the crop for the present year will be still larger."—*Jamaica Despatch, January 1848.*

* The population of the West Indies, in 1842, was 901,082 souls. In 1844, 918,308.

"In 1842, the total exports of those colonies were valued at £6,015,765; the total imports at £5,376,521, of which sum, £2,591,424 represented the value of British and Irish produce and manufactures imported from the United Kingdom.

"In 1843, the total value of the exports from the colonies fell off to £4,971,772, that of the imports, £4,376,505; of this latter sum, the portion of the British and Irish produce and manufactures imported £2,727,410."

The following table (from the *Economist* of January) shews the decline of our own Colonies, and the rising prosperity of Cuba and Brazil :—

	FREE LABOUR. British West Indies.	SLAVE LABOUR. Cuba and Porto Rico.	SLAVE LABOUR. Brasil.
	Hogsheads.	Hogsheads.	Hogsheads.
1838	207,460		
1840	168,000		
1844	136,400	230,000-	89,000
1845	142,000	215,000	93,000
1846	107,000	230,000	75,000
1847	145,000	305,000	112,000

Note.—St Domingo, anterior to the emancipation of the slaves, produced 672,000,000 pounds of sugar, and 89,000,000 pounds of coffee, and consumed L.8,890,000 of French manufactures. That princely island now imports sugar, making only a dirty black syrup, and a few millions of pounds of coffee.

The House of Assembly of Jamaica presented the following memorial to Government (June 1847), which is a most important summary of the destructive influence, so long, and so determinedly, exercised towards that Colony :—

	Hogsheads Sugar at £20.	Puncheons Rum at £10.	Lbs. Coffee at 60s per 100 lbs.	Annual Value.
Average of the five years ending 1807—last year of the African trade....	131,962	50,462	23,625,377	3,852,621
1815—date of the Regis- try Act.....	118,490	48,726	24,394,790	3,588,903
Average of the five years ending 1823—date of Canning's resolutions.	110,924	42,026	18,729,909	3,192,637
Average of the five years ending 1833—last five years of slavery.....	95,353	35,505	17,645,602	2,791,478
Average of the five years ending 1843—first five years of freedom.....	42,453	14,185	7,412,498	1,213,284

It is not for want of energy and indomitable perseverance, improved machinery, fertile soil, and all the appliances of modern agriculture, that our Colonies are gliding out of cultivation. The cause of their decline is traceable mainly to the want of continuous effective labour, and an adequate return for vested capital. The precise standard for economical management has, by consent

of all parties, been fixed. The declared cost of manufacturing a hundredweight of sugar, by free labour, in Jamaica, is 22s., irrespective of interest on capital; and remedial measures will be incomplete and nugatory unless based on this fact.

"A representation signed by nineteen resident proprietors and lessees of sugar estates in a western district of Jamaica has been laid before Government; and it discloses these astounding facts. The individuals are the owners of nineteen, and the lessees of thirteen sugar estates, thirty-two in all, on which they employ daily an average of 2898 labourers who represent families numbering 14,490 souls lately redeemed from slavery. These estates are expected to produce 2796 hogsheads of sugar, and 1354 puncheons of rum for this year's crop, the growth and manufacture of which will cost by accurate computation L.60,315 sterling. In January last, before the Free-trade system had come fairly into operation, this crop would have realized not less than an aggregate sum of L.80,000; but at the present Free-trade prices (L.15 a hhd. for sugar and L.14 a phn. for rum) it is expected only to realize L.60,896, being only L.560 over and above the cost of production. Now the mere interest on the annual outlay at 6 per cent., the current rate of interest in Jamaica, would be L.3168; so that the present rate of prices created by Free-trade not only does not yield to the proprietor of West India property a rent for his land, but does not even yield him common interest upon his money disbursements for tilling it and carrying its produce to market. But let us proceed with our details. The capital invested in these thirty-two estates in live stock and implements of husbandry is L.46,724 sterling, upon which no interest whatever is derived. The nineteen proprietary estates cost an aggregate sum of L.95,854, and an annual rent of L.3110 is paid for the thirteen leased estates, upon the whole of which capital, irretrievably sunk, not one penny of interest results to the proprietor or lessee. With one exception these estates have been all purchased and leased since emancipation, and are managed by their proprietors who reside upon them, have been brought up to tropical agriculture, and have availed themselves of every practical improvement which modern science has suggested. And these are their prospects. They have sunk all their means—they are penniless."—*Jamaica Despatch*, Jan. 8. 1848.

With the present limited population rapidly retiring from estates cultivation to settle upon their own small patches of land, joined with recent ministerial measures, the colonists find themselves involved in difficulties, and threatened with universal bankruptcy. This is not a false alarm sounded by an individual or by a colony. The cry of distress resounds loudly and deeply throughout the British West Indies; and the death-knell of these valuable Colonies already rings in the ears of Government. What can be

more melancholy than the gloomy picture of that beautiful and once flourishing island, Jamaica, so faithfully drawn by the House of Assembly at the close of 1847? The Committee appointed by that House to "inquire into the depressed state of agriculture in the island, the cause of such depression, the extent of abandonment of cultivation and breaking up of sugar and coffee factories which has taken place since the passing of the British Emancipation Act in 1832," having "taken the evidence of persons interested as proprietors and managers of property from nearly every parish in the island," arrived at the following results:—

1. That since the passing of the British Slave Emancipation Act, of the 653 sugar estates then in cultivation in this island, 140 have been abandoned, and the works broken up, containing 163,032 acres of land, and having then employed in their cultivation 22,553 labourers.

2. That these properties, now extinct, produced in the year 1832, 14,178 hogsheads of sugar, and 5903 puncheons of rum.

3. That during the same period, 465 coffee plantations have been abandoned, and their works broke up, containing 188,400 acres of land, and having employed in their cultivation, in the year 1832, 26,830 labourers.

4. That of 138 sugar estates, given in evidence, the crops made in 1832 were, 25,923 hhds. of sugar, and 10,008 puncheons rum. In 1847, 17,359 hhds. sugar and 8331 puncheons rum, shewing a decrease of 8564 hhds. sugar, and 1677 puncheons rum.

5. That upon certain estates shown to have had attached to them, and engaged in their cultivation in the year 1832, 41,820 labourers, there now remain resident in these properties only 13,973, the others, amounting to 27,847, having generally become independent settlers.

6. That the sum of L.1,405,887 14s 11d was expended in the cultivation and manufacture of 57,000 hhds. of sugar and 26,711 puncheons of rum, giving the result, that, after deducting proceeds of the rum, averaged at L.14 per puncheon, the actual cost of sugar averaged L.1, 2s 7½d per cwt.; consequently, that as its value is now by slave competition reduced in the British market to about 11s, exclusive of charges, it is self-evident sugar cultivation cannot be continued; that there is an actual loss on every cwt. of 7s 7½d, without taking into account interest on capital and on money expended, equal at least to 4s 6d more per cwt.; while as regards coffee the evidence is conclusive that it is, if possible, even in a worse condition.

7. That it is shown by the evidence that up to the present year funds have been regularly at command to pay labour.

8. That the plough and other implements of husbandry have been used in all cases where practicable.

9. That except it might be about the factories, machinery cannot be made more available as a substitute for labour.

10. That in respect to immigration, the Asiatic labourers have not been found to answer the purposes of the country; while, on the other hand, the Africans have proved eminently useful, as shown especially in St Thomas in the East, where, from their numbers, the estates on which they are located have been able to keep their factories at work during Saturdays, and to have their general labour better performed.

11. That from the now independent condition of the mass of the people, the command of labour has become exceedingly precarious, often not to be had at all when most wanted; that hardly in any case will the people work on estates for more than five days in the week; that in several districts they refuse to work more than four days in the week; that the average time of field labour is from five to six hours a-day; that the labour given for the wages is not only inadequate in quantity, but generally ill performed; that on the anniversary of freedom, and at Christmas, the entire agricultural population spend from one to two weeks' idleness; that in some districts this is also the case at Easter; that at all these periods, even if the canes are rotting on the ground, and the coffee falling from the trees, no rate of wages will induce the people to work; and that labour continues to become more scarce every year by the people withdrawing from the plantations.

Your committee submit that the question now left for the British Government to decide is, whether, putting the ruin of the colonists altogether out of view, the national interests will be promoted by annihilating sugar and coffee cultivation in its own colonies, the inevitable effect of which must be, and that speedily, to transfer to foreigners a high-priced monopoly of those articles in the British markets.

Assuming that such cannot be the wish of the Government or people of England, it is matter of deep interest how the impending calamity is to be averted.

It has been shown that, even with protection, many of the properties have been ruined by the emancipation measure, and that all have been most seriously injured; that sugar cannot be produced in Jamaica under 27s per cwt. to give common interest on capital; while in Cuba, your Committee are well informed, that 12s per cwt. is a remunerative price.

In this state of things it is self-evident that whatever palliatives may be applied, nothing but protection in the home market can avert the immediate abandonment of sugar and coffee cultivation in the British colonies. In a ratio as the means of labour are provided, the amount of protection may be safely withdrawn, until at no distant period these valuable possessions shall again contribute, as they formerly did, to the national wealth and prosperity. In the meantime, the only alternatives are protection or destruction.

No one who carefully peruses the foregoing tables in connection with the House of Assembly's report can come to any other conclusion, than that the predicted crisis of our West Indian

Colonies has arrived. These are no vague reports, strained and coloured to excite sympathy or create alarm. They are the solemn conclusions of those who have personally and acutely experienced the severe truth of these allegations at every stage of their development, and reflect the deep distress and disorganization of the most valuable colony under the Crown.*

Great Britain is essentially a Colonial empire ; and the acquirement of her vast array of Colonies, which girdle the globe and stud every sea, is a result of the national idiosyncrasy of a people imbued with the restless spirit of adventure and commercial enterprise. Her wealth, and strength, and maritime supremacy, are identified with these matchless possessions ; and it is a subject of deep regret that, instead of being bound up into a concrete mass as integral parts of the empire, they should be broken up and left to decay.

It has been distinctly shewn that imminent danger impends over our West Indian Colonies in their agricultural, commercial, and social prospects. It now remains to point out such remedial measures as will most likely avert their threatened annihilation. Of these measures I shall especially select European and African immigration, and a system of education commensurate with the present wants of the colonies, as all other topics, on this interesting subject, have recently been freely and fully discussed through the medium of the press.

Before proceeding to point out the advantages of any of these measures, let it be distinctly understood, that without adequate protection from slave competition, they will be of no avail in restoring Colonial prosperity. With our Colonial treasury exhausted,

* " Look at the forlorn condition of the island, all interests were suffering. In Kingston, in a short time, no less than 50 stores had been locked up in consequence of the great pressure of the times. They saw *three* estates offered for sale for *one thousand pounds*—properties, too, making from 400 to 600 hogsheads of sugar, and yet there were no purchasers ! Look at *Worthy Park* (accounted the second estate in Jamaica for fertility of soil, &c.) If an estate making from three to six hundred hogsheads of sugar could not continue its cultivation, how can smaller estates, making from 80 to 100 hogsheads, continue theirs—and all this by the unequal laws of Parliament. That beautiful estate had its bills protested, and could obtain no farther advances to carry on cultivation.—*Mr Hart's Speech in the House of Assembly. Jamaica Despatch, Dec. 1837.*

and inability to pay taxes, with commerce destroyed, with fields in ruinate, with estates abandoned, and the proprietary body beggared, with the emancipated population ignorant, unemployed, and in danger of returning to barbarism, our Colonies are *hors de combat*, and no more able to contend with slavery, than the clumsy mechanism of last century could compete with Watt's improved steam machinery. Without sufficient protection our West Indian Colonies will be involved in irretrievable ruin; and on their ashes Cuba and Brazil will arise in unexampled prosperity. This point must be obvious to all; without further prelude then I pass to the consideration of

EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION.

European immigration must be viewed more as a prospective than an immediate measure. Its main objects are to strengthen and consolidate our social system, to advance civilization, to give a tone to morality, and to diffuse a knowledge of the arts and the improvements of modern agriculture, by the superior skill and intelligence of properly selected immigrants. African immigration, on the other hand, to which the country looks with extreme solicitude, will be a prompt and certain remedy for agricultural difficulties; and with a distinct and faithful declaration from Government that our opponents shall only be free labourers; and that slave sugar and coffee shall be excluded from the category of free trade, confidence would be immediately restored, emulation excited, and unlimited employment be given to capital in building up the dilapidated condition of our West Indian Colonies.

Can a white man live and labour within the tropics? is the first question to be solved in regard to European immigration, and being of vital importance to the ultimate success of the measure, claims special consideration. The affirmative might be successfully maintained by reference to Europeans engaged in agricultural pursuits in Jamaica. We have seen, in former days, the whole indented servants on estates, including book-keepers, carpenters, masons, and ploughmen, pursuing their industrial avoca-

tions in "sunshine and in shower," in the full enjoyment of health and contentment, so long as they observed common precaution. Here, as everywhere else, if the bounds of moderation were transgressed, they, sooner or later, paid the penalty of their imprudence; and the country was undeservedly stigmatized as insalubrious, when their own indiscretion was the cause of their misfortunes. This question, moreover, has received practical confirmation on a scale of great magnitude in the Spanish Islands. Porto Rico, far inferior in extent to Jamaica, and in the same parallel of latitude, in 1836 contained 357,086 souls, out of which no less than 188,869, or more than one-half of the whole population were whites, presenting "the singular appearance of white men working in the same field, and at the same labour as coloured men, without being considered as degraded by it."

The bane of every country within the tropics is the indiscreet use of alcoholic drinks. Abolish the use of spirituous liquors, and every individual will possess the *open sesame* to health and longevity. The popular objection alleged against the unhealthiness of the climate would then be effectually removed, and the trite adage* that a white man cannot live by the sweat of his brow within the tropics, would be peremptorily refuted.

In the earlier periods of the settlement of Jamaica, when dense forests covered the land, and extensive lagoons evolved their gaseous products, and charged the atmosphere with malaria, no doubt the country was then the "grave of many a European." So it unfortunately was when masses of unseasoned troops, in the plenitude of vigour and youth, arrived and were stationed in the plains; but the preservation of the health of our soldiers is now better understood, and by removing them to elevated barracks in the interior, the bills of mortality are as light as if they had remained in Europe.

The surface of the lowland country till lately was studded with sugar estates in the highest state of cultivation, (and when a country is highly cultivated, it is always comparatively healthy), sluggish river courses were opened, trenches were cut to draw off stagnant water, to be afterwards drained and planted with canes,

* Sub minium propinqui solis terra domibus negata.—HORACE.

and the periodic land-wind and sea breeze ventilated and rendered districts salubrious, which before had been notoriously unhealthy.

Every country has its unhealthy localities, from the fens of Lincolnshire to the swamps of Walchern, from the malaria of the Pontine marshes to the jungles of the Ganges, and Jamaica has likewise its unhealthy spots, but it would be as illogical to draw an inference of the insalubrity of a climate from partial statements made from particular districts, as it would be to characterize England, Holland, or Italy unhealthy countries, because certain localities were detrimental to health.

Taking the general state of the island, and leaving out those low lying tracts of rich alluvial soil in a marshy condition (all of which admits of being drained and brought into profitable cultivation), the climate of Jamaica is as compatible with the enjoyment of health and longevity, as the most highly-favoured parts of Europe. Competent judges will admit that the elevated range of lands in the interior are as pleasant and salubrious as any region of the globe, and enjoy an immunity from febrile diseases which few countries can boast of.

If the higher grades of intropical fevers, not deemed infectious, occasionally prevail among unseasoned strangers from temperate climates along the shores of Jamaica, typhus fever, the constant companion and scourge of the lower orders, rages in every densely-populated town in Great Britain—a fever more intractable in its nature, and fatal in its consequences, than the gravest of West Indian diseases.

The heat of the climate has been urged as a valid objection to the introduction of white labourers. The average temperature of the lowlands, at the north side of the island, is 79 degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer; and its highest range in the shade never exceeds $91\frac{1}{2}$ degrees even in summer. The sea breeze tempers the noon-day heat, and the land wind communicates a delightful freshness to the evenings and mornings. Nothing exemplifies the pleasing variety of climate, throughout the range of mountainous lands, more than the geographical distribution of plants. In an ascent of a few hours to these delightful regions, the products which give the peculiar distinctive features to a tropical landscape gradually give place to those of more temperate

climates. Convalescents also reap the advantages of these cool retreats, every hundred yards of elevation reducing the temperature one degree; and the bloom and vigour of the white inhabitants of these highland districts exhibit evidence of the most positive nature of the purity of the atmosphere and salubrity of the interior of Jamaica.

I have observed the thermometer stand for weeks together during the summer in Canada at 95 degrees of Fahrenheit, which considerably surpasses that of Kingston, the hottest part of the island; and if agricultural operations are unremittingly carried on by white men in countries where the temperature of the summer exceeds that of Jamaica, surely it is practicable, under prudential regulations, for them to do so in that fine island.

The in-door work of the mill-house, boiling-house, and distillery, which require vigorous exertions, and some degree of skill, would give healthy employment to thousands of Europeans. The management of cattle, horses, and sheep—at present often neglected—the construction of roads, the repair of fences, and the conveyance of produce to the shipping place, besides the performance of numerous minor offices, would amply recompense those employing white emigrants on their sugar estates; and every proprietor who neglects to employ, and permanently locate in a comfortable condition, a proportion of intelligent English or Scotch families, of sober, industrious habits, shows an utter indifference to his own interest, and the future stability and prosperity of the island.* The services of such people would be peculiarly appropriate on coffee plantations, the greater number of which have been abandoned for want of funds. Thousands of acres of rich, fertile, mountainous woodland, in almost every parish, adapted for growing the finest quality of coffee, might be entirely

* The subject of absenteeism is a question open to discussion, which my limits will not allow me to enter upon. I may, however, take this opportunity to recommend to the serious attention of the absentee proprietors, the propriety of vesting the acting resident manager with the *planting power of attorney*, as a rule only to be departed from under particular circumstances. If every such manager were a married man, it would add much to his efficiency, as he would be held in more respect by the labouring population, and when they knew that he possessed the sole power, without reference to a third party, better terms would generally be obtained, and the interests of the estate be more respected than can possibly be done when the responsibility is divided.

cultivated by European labourers* of industrious habits and humble views. Upwards of 2,000,000 of acres of virgin land, in the interior of the island, are admirably adapted for white immigrants, and numerous families might be comfortably settled in these beautiful districts, which otherwise must remain impenetrable forests.

These cool, salubrious, elevated regions, with every variety of soil, admirably adapted for the cultivation of coffee, tobacco, cotton, indigo, figs, vines, drugs, dyes, and spices, of every production of tropical and many of temperate regions, excelling Italy in its climate and its fruits, ought long ere this to have been populated with an intelligent peasantry; and in the regeneration of Jamaica, as a free country, the introduction of an industrious and religious community from Great Britain should be an object of primary consideration. There is not within the compass of *horticulture* a more pleasing and delightful recreation (for work it can scarcely be called) than the daily operations of a coffee plantation, and none in which white people would be more likely to excel. Instead of the present negative system of agriculture, performed by fits and starts, so slovenly and inertly as gradually to insure destruction of property, and entail ruin on proprietors, we should then see the energy, and industry, and *mind* of British labourers direct every undertaking, and infuse a portion of their superior skill and ingenuity, and excite a commendable emulation among their coloured fellow-labourers, *which is the paramount object of European immigration.*

In advocating a scheme of European immigration, it would not be advisable to recommend the indiscriminate introduction of masses of labourers to perform the ordinary agricultural opera-

* Lord Metcalfe, whose mind was strongly imbued with the necessity of augmenting the labouring population to perpetuate the cultivation of the staples, and to develop the untold resources of "that noble island," as he called Jamaica, said, "With respect to one important point, our beautiful island presents in its highlands a delightful climate for Europeans and inhabitants from all countries, and in the lowlands one salubrious and agreeable to Africans and natives of tropical regions. It is manifest that immigration on a large scale is necessary not only for the further development of our still latent resources, but even for the successful cultivation of the present staples. It is a happy reflection, his Excellency adds, that immigration may take place to any probable extent without interfering with the benefits possessed by the present inhabitants."

tions on sugar estates, as this could not be done safely, in the first instance, nor is such required. This kind of immigration ought to be select, and carried into effect with the utmost precaution as auxillary to African immigration, to set an example of industry, honesty, sobriety, and morality before the untutored children of the desert, whose formation of character will greatly depend on the early impressions of civilized life and religious instruction which they shall receive during the transition from the savage state to that of *intellectual men*. It would, moreover, be a compensatory measure to regulate the eccentric and indolent habits of the present black population, and raise them above their present childish propensities.

One or two families, chosen from agricultural districts of England or Scotland, of humble views and industrious habits, those who have experienced the *res dura* of their own straitened homes, and conforming themselves to the golden rule of temperance, would be a valuable acquisition to an estate where a proportionate number of new Africans were to be located. This would resemble the deficiency law, so rigorously enforced during slavery, for keeping up an efficient militia. There would, however, be this material difference, that, instead of importing single men, immigrants should be brought out in families, where domestic happiness, and the means of living in easy and comfortable circumstances, would tend to reconcile them to the change, and materially assist in forming a state of society the reverse to any which can possibly exist under a demoralized and inhuman system of slavery.

The great risk of simultaneously introducing masses of our countrymen into the tropics, is in allowing them the possibility of *rioting in idleness and dissipation in localities unfavourable to acclimatization*. This was the fatal rock on which was wrecked the crude mercenary attempt at European immigration in 1841-2, thereby throwing unmerited obloquy in a manner which, under judicious regulations, and with a proper selection of sober, industrious, and religious persons, would have laid the foundation of a systematic industry of generous and manly rivalry among the black population.

In their haste to accomplish emancipation, urged on by the *vis a tergo* movement of the people, Government simply viewed it as

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a measure *per se*, to set free a million of slaves. They overlooked the numerous interests likely to be involved in this complicated and novel experiment—the thousands of families in opulence reduced to beggary and despair—the enormous vested capital annihilated, and their princely estates abandoned to ruin. The colonists, loyal and confiding beyond any class of her Majesty's subjects, seeing that the progress and enlightenment of the age required the abolition of slavery, yielded their rights and placed implicit faith in the justice of British administrations.* Up to this moment, when driven from their homes, their properties running into a wilderness, and told to compete with *impracticable slave labour*, they look upon all that has passed as a day-dream, and are only awakened to the sad reality of their distress when their hopeless condition and unmitigated ruin stare them in the face. The ultimate consequences of emancipation should have been clearly scanned, and efficient precautionary measures adopted to respect the immense vested interests of our colonies. The principles of a gradually increasing and adequate labouring population ought to have been fully recognised, and a comprehensive scheme of education and religious instruction superadded. The British public never believed that twenty millions† of money was to be expended simply for the freedom of the blacks, in order that they might be set loose and gradually merge into a semi-barbarous state. No! their intentions had a higher and nobler aim, to identify their freedom with their own, in the enjoyment of civil

* I am sorry to observe in an extract from the *Jamaica Despatch* recently quoted by the *Standard*, that a disposition exists to withdraw their custom from the manufacturers of Great Britain, as they receive no sympathy in their distress from the mother country. The formation of a Colonial Zollverein would form a subject of deep regret, not more for the loss of a *home trade* of far more transcendent value than that of Cuba and Brazil, than for the alienation of that spirit of loyalty and patriotism which they have hitherto so enthusiastically displayed. While it is sincerely to be hoped that no such measure shall be adopted, it is equally to be hoped that her Majesty's ministers will not goad the colonists to desperation.

† The exact amount of compensation (if that term can be applied to a fractional dividend of property) distributed among the West Indian Colonies, was £17,000,000, out of £20,000,000 voted by Parliament to the owners of slaves. The value of estates and slaves agreeably to the appraisement of the Crown Commissioners was £140,000,000, the slaves alone having been estimated at £43,000,000, a sum far short of their intrinsic value, as the common valuation of negroes on estates in Jamaica before property was tampered with was one hundred pounds old currency, or sixty pounds sterling, including all ages and sexes.

and religious liberty, in the performance of virtuous actions, in the love of justice, in the exercise of the social affections, in fine, to make them an industrious and religious peasantry.

What is much to be apprehended at the present time, when proprietors are panic-struck, and those of the intelligent part of the community with any means are leaving the country, is, that the germs of civilization will wither and die. Every intelligent family who leaves the island at this critical moment, not only retards the great work of civilization, but inflicts an immediate blow upon the best interests of humanity; and every European of good character who arrives and settles in the island, is a central point of civilization, and imparts a share of his superior intelligence to those around him. The introduction and permanent residence of such persons are as necessary for the moral and intellectual improvement of the negroes as the ebbing and flowing of the tide to preserve its physical constitution.

The black domestics and those in frequent communication with intelligent families, are eminent examples of the humanizing influence of a resident white population. The Creoles can be readily distinguished from their African parents; and the whole black population since the abolition of the slave-trade, and consequent intermixture of different negro races, are evidently acquiring a fixed *national* physiognomy. The handsomest African tribe are the Coromantees or Ashantees. With ample protruding foreheads, and perpendicular alveolar processes, with the facial angle approaching near to that of the European, with straight limbs, and finely-arched small feet, and with a high intellectual capacity, they are by far the finest of the African race. The Coromantees are an intelligent proud race, maintaining, in many instances, even in their servile state, graceful action and easy manners. They are impatient of restraint, quick at resentment, yet capable of the warmest friendship and attachment. The various rebellions were led by this high-spirited race, and the Maroons, (originally Coromantees) by intermarrying among themselves, preserve that physical superiority to this day. The Mocoos, Mandingoes, Eboes, and a few other tribes, are much inferior. With retiring foreheads, projecting chins, curved limbs, and flat feet, with the spine placed more forward so as to make the sacrum

protrude, these people are comparatively stupid and unintellectual, more patient of restraint, more passive and obedient.

The influence of civilization and social intercourse, by living closely attached to intelligent families and mingling with Europeans, exert a palpable influence upon the mental and physical character of the negro. I have often observed, in old established West Indian families of polished manners, that the house servants, many of whom grew up in the family from infancy, were superior in their physical organization to the generality of those who had none of these advantages. They had a higher cast of features, approximating to that of the European, and, by living constantly within the sphere of civilized habits, and exercising their intellectual powers, their physical organization seemed to have been improved, and the "*villanous low forehead*" raised as their mental faculties became developed. An opportunity of testing the rapid and powerful influence of civilization on savage life came within my observation in 1840. One of her Majesty's cruisers captured a Spanish vessel with slaves, on her way to Cuba, and brought the prize into Port Antonio, Jamaica. The local government apprenticed them for twelve months under certain stipulations. My friend, Dr Spalding, received eighty of these wild savages for one of his coffee estates. I went to see them shortly after they had been located. It was at the time of their dinner meal that we visited them. They were arranged in groups around the culinary utensils, awaiting, with anxious impatience, for the distribution of their *messy-messy*.* Although they had all received clothes, few of them availed themselves of any other habiliment than a blanket wrapped round their middle. In that state, approaching to nudity, they sat crouched with their limbs folded, and their heads resting between their hands, watching every movement of the cook. I had never seen any newly imported negroes till that time, and it was humiliating to observe their "brute, unconscious gaze." They received their apportioned food and devoured it like as many inferior animals. We afterwards conversed with them through an interpreter. Their laugh was an unmeaning, vacant expression of mirth, without a ray of intelligence to lighten their

* An African expression for meals.

countenance. They were assigned to the care of intelligent Creoles to work with them, and to be taught weeding, planting, pruning, and picking coffee. The children were placed at school, and the whole attended divine service and Sunday's school in the chapel, founded on this estate by the liberality of the proprietor. They soon became expert in field-work, and acquired the *patois* of the Creole negro in an unusually short time. I visited them again before the expiration of their indenture, at an interval of nearly twelve months. They were now a different people, upright in stature, wearing their clothes with pride, no more crouching like captured slaves, with intelligent countenances and manly deportment, in fact, making rapid strides from a low savage condition to civilized social life. If twelve months' intercourse with their superiors could lighten the intellect and illumine the countenances of these savage negroes, and elevate their mental and physical condition, what would a life-time do for such beings with the force of progressive and expansive influences? Such a gratifying change brought them within the scope of Ovid's beautiful lines—

“Os homini sublime dedit; cœlumque tueri
Jussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.”

A low state of ignorance, with no commendable examples, and no stimulus to excite to methodic industry, will soon sink any people into passive indifference and moral degradation. There will be neither pride nor emulation; a desire to satisfy the appetites and passions will be the measure of enjoyment of the inhabitants of a luxurious climate, unrestrained by virtue and isolated from the civilized world. Were an example required to corroborate this statement, the demoralized, indolent, and irreligious Hayti might be pointed to, where the most fatal error committed by the ignorant population of that splendid island was enacting a law to exclude white people from permanently settling as freeholders.

If Government determine upon an extended system of African immigration to suit the urgent requirements of the Colonies, it should be accompanied by the introduction of a proportionate number of European immigrants. Not less than ten per cent. of British emigrants of approved character should be engaged in this vital measure for reconstructing our Colonies, with special care that all new-comers be located in healthy situations. Every

estate in Jamaica has its local character well defined, not only for its productiveness and its peculiarities in making sugar and rum, but also for its salubrity. The coffee plantations on elevated lands in the interior are proverbially healthy; and so long as strangers from temperate climates remain in these districts, they do not necessarily undergo what is emphatically called a seasoning. The unhealthiness of a few estates may be considered the exception to the rule; but where the least doubt exists, no newcomers ought to be placed in any equivocal locality until they shall have been acclimatized, when they may choose their own employment, and live where they please. It will be the duty of the agents of immigration to see to this important consideration.

In a letter written while in England in 1839, and freely circulated, I strongly recommended European immigration as a measure to strengthen the island and excite a friendly and industrious rivalry among all classes. I there urged the vital necessity of introducing *humble, industrious, and religious agriculturists of thorough temperate habits*, otherwise not to adopt the measure at all. The scheme was subsequently tried without any of these precautions, and a heterogeneous mass of every kind of character, the refuse of English society and the sweepings of prisons, were shipped from *London* as a *mercenary speculation*, and, as was predicted, it proved a total and painful failure. I then stated that the beneficial influence likely to result from establishing agricultural villages, peopled by British immigrants, to the morals, and habits, and propensities of the negroes, would be infinitely more powerful than any precepts, however wisely and carefully inculcated. When they saw themselves surrounded, as it were, by European peasantry, of sober, economical habits, pursuing their avocations with indomitable perseverance and systematic industry, taking every advantage which a soil teeming with fruitfulness afforded, and turning their labour to profitable advantage in a hundred ways, such examples would have the effect of awakening the slumbering energies of the recently emancipated population, and exciting them to emulate their more enlightened rivals in everything which adorns a well-regulated and industrious community.

Having thus briefly considered the practicability and advantages of European immigration, I invite attention to another

measure which is intimately connected with the last ; and which is a measure *de vita et sanguine* to the agricultural existence of our West Indian Colonies.

AFRICAN IMMIGRATION.

The object of African immigration is twofold,—

- I. To give a death-blow to slavery in general, and to the African slave trade in particular, and thereby increase the prosperity of our Colonies.
- II. To emancipate an hundred millions of our fellow-creatures from the degrading thralldom of Paganism and fetish superstition, and thus place them within the pale of Christianity.

The first proposition implies that, if an adequate population be carefully introduced into the West Indian Colonies, an approximation shall have been made to the condition of countries in which dense numbers create artificial wants, requisite for order, industry, and social improvement. New energies would then spring up, larger capital be embarked, enterprise again raise its head, and agriculture, under the modern improvements of the day, arrive at a proficiency, under freedom, surpassing our most sanguine expectations.

The very idea of African immigration is apt to be associated with that debased system of slavery and the slave trade, at present so vigorously carried on by foreigners in the very teeth of our numerous cruisers. Light is not more opposite to darkness than free African immigration is to the slave trade. The one is voluntary, and leads to recompense, and all the blessings of civilized life; the other is involuntary, and entails on its unhappy victims all the horrors of servitude. The one tends to dispel the darkness of heathenism and degrading superstition; the other, to perpetuate slavery and all its merciless concomitants. Free African immigration is in strict accordance with Christianity and the spirit of the age; and on this account it has irresistible claims upon the sympathy and support of a Christian community.

The frequent discussions which have lately taken place re-

specting the African slave trade have awakened curiosity, and turned public attention to the study of that interesting quarter of the globe. The removal of all doubts as to the West Indians wishing to revert to slavery in any shape, obviates any objections hitherto brought forward to oppose a measure which, *prima facie*, was not without suspicion; but which, being now distinctly understood, can be freely discussed with every chance of being listened to.

The most powerful measure which human means could devise for the extinction of that inhuman traffic in our fellow-men, is to open a direct communication between Africa and our West India Colonies, and thereby promote commerce, and encourage the emigration of free recompensed labourers. The subversion of slavery in Central Africa must be the work of untold years, under the most favourable circumstances. Slavery has existed from time immemorial, and is a concomitant of society in its rude and barbarous state. It exists at this moment in all its shades and modifications throughout that immense continent, upon the principle that might gives right. This is confirmed by every traveller; and many an old African in Jamaica relates the tale of his native servitude with interesting minuteness. Many intelligent Africans, who, by the fortune of war, or other overpowering circumstances, were sold into slavery and taken to the West Indies, declare that a worse fate awaited them had they not been sent thither. Now, as internal slavery must exist until Africa be partially civilized, and as a contraband slave trade will be carried on by Cuba and Brazil, in spite of all our exertions to the contrary (unless we make the iniquitous traffic a *causus belli*), it would be the wiser and more merciful policy of Government to authorize recognised agents to enter the slave market wherever they exist. If friendly expostulations and treaties with chiefs failed, those unhappy captives, otherwise doomed for the slavery of Brazil and Cuba, might then be purchased and liberated on the spot. They might afterwards be invited to emigrate to our Colonies, where they might either remain as free recompensed labourers for a specified time; or such as chose might be allowed to return to their native land in our regular traders, when it would be safe for them to do so.

The baracoons,* or slave-houses, at the principal slave marts in Africa, are generally inundated with victims ready to be sold into slavery, and awaiting the slave ships to transport them across the Atlantic. However detestable this trade may be, and however minutely it may extend its baneful influence throughout every province and kingdom of Africa, it must be recollected that it has been an extra national traffic sanctioned by the usage of Europe for three centuries, and can only be repressed or totally abolished by gradual means. A national trade of 300,000 slaves annually sold to Europeans is an element of too much importance in the tariff of African princes to be abolished without some sort of compensation; that compensation will require to be, in the first instance, partly pecuniary and partly barter; and the whole might be compromised at a comparatively small sacrifice. Commerce and agriculture will follow in the rear of an undertaking congenial with the spirit of the age; and when the chiefs begin to see their interests, and are capable of appreciating the salutary change, then will the great work of civilization progress, and the day-spring from on high shed its benignant influences over that great continent.

The plan here recommended might be deemed objectionable as tending to create a demand for more of those unhappy captives to fill up the void. There might be some semblance of truth in the beginning; but if the plan were well ordered, and the whole scheme based on the civilization and evangelization of Africa, the most sincere friends of the African race would rejoice to think that beings in the lowest stage of savage existence would soon be enabled to stand erect as men and Christians! An abundant supply of Africans no doubt will be obtained ready to engage as emigrants; and Government having taken the whole control of this scheme into their own hands, ought to extend the Parlia-

* An interesting case was tried for breaking up some of these baracoons in February 1848. The Court of Exchequer was occupied by trial at bar. *Burn v. Denman*, before Barons Parke, Alderson, Rolfe, and Platt, with a special jury. The question involved is, the legality of the conduct pursued by a part of Her Majesty's forces on the coast of Africa in 1840, in landing at Gallinas, and destroying several baracoons, in which slaves were kept prior to embarkation for the Brazils and Cuba. At the same time 900 slaves were set at liberty.

The case closed on Wednesday afternoon, when a general verdict in favour of the defendant was returned.

ment grant, anticipate the slave dealers in every market where they were likely to enter, and convert those who would otherwise be doomed to perpetual slavery to free-men, placing them under British protection. The very nature of a constant intercommunication between Africa and the West Indies, with the frequent return of those who had emigrated and tasted the sweets of freedom, where liberty of the person was held sacred, and where the fruits of their industry were respected, would in time light up civilization, and diffuse its blessings among the African race.

Any objections that might be brought against the pre-emption of those doomed to slavery might be obviated by publishing the well-known fact, that prisoners of war are marched to the coast along with other captives, and when a ready market is not to be found, or impediments are thrown in the way of selling them, these miserable victims become so burthensome to the native slave dealers, that they are not unfrequently immolated to the Fetish, starved to death, or thrown into the river. The plan proposed therefore is one of benevolence and mercy, and would tend quietly and effectually to cripple the slave trade, and finally overthrow the unhallowed system of slavery.

If Africa is to be civilized, and a termination is to be put to the internal and external slave-trade, it must be accomplished, according to the late Sir Fowell Buxton's plan, through the medium of the West Indies. A free, ample, and regular communication should be opened and kept up between the West Indies and Africa, by which a constant flux and reflux of persons of all classes would afford them opportunities of making comparisons, familiarizing them with the inhabitants, and enabling them to judge of that which would eventually tend most to their comfort and happiness.

Government should encourage the Jamaica Assembly to adopt an efficient scheme of African immigration under the supervision and control of the Government, as far as the rights, and privileges, and protection of the immigrants were concerned, with power to appoint island agents to see that their moral and physical wants were attended to during the period of their indenture. A communication might then be opened between the West Indies and Africa for every purpose connected with immigration, agriculture, and commerce. If a sufficiency of Africans could not

be procured from the vicinity of Sierra Leone, they might be obtained from numerous other stations appointed by Government, where in time a constant stream of voluntary immigrants would flow into our colonies ; and thus not only at once regenerate these decaying islands, but also commence a new era in the civilization of Africa.

No African immigrant should be indentured for a period less than three years, because it is impossible for the most intelligent of them to become sufficiently acquainted with the cultivation and manufacture of the staples in less time. In such as come from Sierra Leone, Kroo Kroomen, and the like, already partly civilized, a period of three years would be sufficient, but for the wild negro who had hitherto herded in the desert, his indenture ought to be five years. It would require the whole of that period, under the best system of training, to make him an expert agriculturist, and fit him to take his station in society as a free agent. During this noviciate, let him be taught the English language, and the elementary knowledge of letters, so as to be able to read the Bible, to form local attachments and industrious habits. It is a mistaken notion to think, that an ignorant African can acquire any tolerable idea of agriculture, or the manufacture of coffee and sugar, in twelve months. These branches require time, and skill, and experience, to enable a person to take charge of the coffee works, or enter into the chemical laboratory of a sugar factory. Europeans have to serve from three to five years in a subordinate situation before they are trusted with the management of an estate. We might as well expect an intelligent gardener to become expert in the various duties of an extensive nursery, or an agriculturist in England to master the details of his business in one-third of the time usually required for such knowledge, as a simple-minded African, fresh from the desert, to become thoroughly acquainted with the details of coffee and sugar-field cultivation, in less than five years.

During the currency of the indenture, there should be a graduated scale of wages, securing to the immigrant, for the first and second year, an ample supply of food and clothing, and medical attendance, whenever required, until he knew how to provide for himself. The provisions of an immigration act would specify the relative duties of master and servant, and the proper

restraints to be put upon idleness and vagrancy. For the preservation of that reciprocal feeling of friendship and mutual confidence, which ought to exist between proprietors and their dependants, the executive of any act should be entrusted, as much as possible, to the local magistracy,* whose diligence in discharging their public duties, and whose equitable administration of justice, have invariably been duly acknowledged by Her Majesty's representatives.

At the expiration of the agreement, when their savage propensities shall have been subdued by the humanizing influence of education and religion, and their minds expanded by the precepts and examples of a community advanced in civilization, they might, if they were inclined, return to their native country, and impart the glad tidings of a land of liberty and religion, where, under equal laws and equal privileges, every man sat under his own vine and his own fig-tree in peace and safety.

To attempt the civilization and evangelization of Central Africa at the present time, without the greatest precaution, while the continent, in many parts, is covered with umbrageous forests, and where the atmosphere is impregnated with fatal malaria, would be to consign our countrymen to sure and certain death, by that awful form of congestive fever, which spares neither the young nor the old, with the blood of Europeans circulating in their veins. Our traders should be manned with, and commanded by, intelligent blacks and coloured seamen, many of whom would readily accept such employment. After the commencement of the undertaking, numerous young Africans might be expressly educated and brought up for such purposes, and thus obviate an annual mortality of white men, whose constitutions are far from being proof against the fatal emanations of African jungles and marshes.

Any expedition for the purpose of exploring Africa, should be fitted out at Port-Royal, Jamaica, under the superintendence of the senior naval officer on the station. The Jamaica Society, and

* My official situation gave me abundant opportunities of observing the zeal and intelligence of the local magistrates, and their desire to dispense their duties without "partiality, favour, or affection;" and it is of paramount importance that this mutual confidence should be preserved, and that the local magistrates be the internuncial means of adjudicating or arbitrating all parochial matters.

the College of Physicians and Surgeons, whose respectability and intimate knowledge of tropical affairs are well known, would readily give every assistance in their power to ensure the success of the measure. Every department should be filled with competent persons, who have been thoroughly acclimatized by an intertropical residence of at least five years. Commanders, chaplains, surgeons, schoolmasters, mates, and others in the island, might be very easily procured, by holding out liberal encouragement, and filling every subordinate situation with coloured seamen, capable of withstanding the climate of Africa, with perhaps an attack of ague as a substitute for the fatal congestive fever. Besides this, it would be easy to find Africans of different tribes and nations, willing to accompany any expedition, and prove of the utmost use as interpreters.

Such a plan as this, for the exploration of Central Africa, would ensure safety and success; and, when forests were cleared, lands drained and cultivated, and the miasmatic exhalations diluted, or altogether dissipated, Europeans might then venture on any enterprise, with an equal chance for life, as in going to our West Indian Colonies. To send direct from home (and perhaps at an improper season of the year) young, robust, unseasoned Englishmen, in the plenitude of health and vigour, to penetrate the fens, and swamps, and forests of Africa, would be to send them upon a dismally forlorn hope, the issue of which would be a premature grave.*

Carrying out this scheme of usefulness and benevolence, the fulfilment of the second proposition for imparting the gospel to benighted Africa might be rendered practicable.

To accomplish this great work, the most intelligent and influential young Africans should be selected and sent to the normal school to receive instruction as schoolmasters and missionaries. When they had received a competent skill of letters, and a saving knowledge of the Scriptures, they could afterwards return to African stations to teach and preach the gospel to their Pagan brethren, and moreover render themselves eminently useful in forwarding commercial and agricultural pursuits.

* These sentiments were embodied in one of a series of letters addressed by me to Lord Stanley, Colonial Secretary, and published in the *Jamaica Morning Journal* in 1842.

It has been beautifully said that "on earth there is nothing great but man, and in man there is nothing great but mind." One hundred millions of our fellow-creatures, with minds as blank and barren as the sand of their desert plains, and with appetites as grovelling as the beasts of the forest, demand a distinct and an immediate acknowledgment from Christendom, that a crusade shall be undertaken to humanize and christianize beings highly susceptible of improvement; and no more appropriate measure can be adopted for insuring success, than by the amalgamation of missionary and colonizing enterprise.

The *materiel* for undertaking the education of African missionaries upon a large scale (if aided with funds) is awaiting them in Jamaica. With a bishop, zealous in such a Christian cause; with ministers of various denominations, whose daily prayers are that the heathen may be soon converted; with schools both public* and private ready to throw open their doors for all missionary purposes; with the prayers and the offerings of the young and the old, that the light of the Gospel may speedily dispel the darkness of heathenism, the British public have every inducement to begin in earnest the work of African evangelization.

Twenty millions have been expended in achieving freedom in our Colonial possessions. Eighty millions of our national treasure have been paid away for the ineffectual suppression of the slave-trade, and for the support of liberated Africans. While such benevolent measures are adopted to rivet the chains of the captive, will Christians not unite in emancipating their fellow-creatures from the thralldom of a more fatal slavery?

It is gratifying to think that this Christian scheme is gaining ground in the mother country, where wealth, and power, and intelligence, are not bestowed in vain, but are given to fulfil some of the world's highest destinies—the diffusion of universal freedom and Christian benevolence. Lord John Russell, while Colonial Secretary, in one of his despatches, confirmed the pleasing anticipation that a Colonial intercommunication with Africa to "excavate the heathen," should occupy the attention of her Majesty's Government; and although every friend of humanity has to regret

* Many of these schools will require to be re-organized, and furnished with adequate funds, not however to supersede the plan to be hereafter recommended.

the failure of the late expedition to the Niger, we may reasonably expect more success and God speed, were the plan so briefly enunciated carried into effect. "I consider," says his Lordship, "the establishment of a *regular intercourse between Africa and the West Indies*, will tend greatly not only to the prosperity of the British West India possessions, but likewise to the civilization of Africa. A new epoch has arrived for the African race. We have in the West Indies 800,000 negroes, of whom, perhaps, three-fourths are Christians, in the enjoyment of practical freedom, of means of education and of physical comfort to a very high degree. There is no reason to suppose that their advances in wealth, knowledge, and religious improvement, may not be in proportion to the most hopeful anticipations. Nothing like this state of society exists among the African race elsewhere. In Hayti, there is a very low standard of government and civilization; in Cuba, in Brazil, and in the United States, slavery; in Africa, human sacrifices and the most degrading superstitions. We have made, in the last ten years, a wonderful and successful experiment. *But its consequences are yet to be developed, and may far exceed the present good which has been effected, great and surprising as that has been.*"

How are we to reconcile the expression of such philosophic sentiments, touching, as they do, the very vitality of African evangelization, and prophesying, in confident tones, the future development of a *wonderful and successful experiment*, with the subsequent measures of his Lordship, which have arrested the social progress of the African race, and ruined our Colonies? The proprietary body hailed these and other expressions with their whole hearts, confidently and implicitly, as the precursors of better days, and accepted the solemn and reiterated assurances of responsible statesmen, as enunciating fixed legislative principles which no change of ministry could affect, without violence to national honour, and not without danger of tarnishing their own fame.

The advantages of a combined system of European and African immigration have been adverted to for the two-fold purpose of raising the moral condition of the people by the gradual introduction of a virtuous, industrious peasantry, and supplying the deficiency of the labour-market by an addition of free Africans. The

practicability of Europeans pursuing their avocations, with the preservation of their health, has been shown to depend on their prudent conduct, and the civilization and evangelization of the African race, pointed to as the grand result of a well-regulated system of commercial and missionary enterprise through the medium of the West Indies.

I shall now briefly point out education as an element of paramount importance for the moral regeneration of West Indian society.

EDUCATION.

III. The only education which the black population of our Colonies had received during slavery, was a rigid system of mechanical training, best suited to develop their physical qualities, and evolve the greatest momentum of their dynamical powers. They were taught submission to the yoke, and endurance under toil, much upon the same principle as the oxen that shared their drudgery; and the quality of a good slave was to possess what Canning so happily called the strength of a giant with the intellect of a child. He was an automaton that moved only by springs when touched by the driver—a mere chattel that might be sold—incapable of giving evidence in a court of justice—divested of all civil rights—and, during this servile state, no intellectual ray could be safely admitted into his “dark territory of mind.”

This is the actual condition of slavery wherever it is to be found; nor did it form any exception to British Colonial slavery, although with occasional and partial modifications. The *onus scelerandi* of slavery commenced with the mother country; and the crude and precipitate manner in which Government let loose nearly a million of ignorant beings without adequate mental and moral training was an experiment dangerous to the social welfare of the negroes.

During slavery the whole population were steeped in ignorance and superstition. They had peculiar superstitions of their own, derived from their African forefathers, which they looked upon with fear and trembling. Their minds were imbued with myalism and obeah, the most debasing and destructive kinds of African

witchcraft—not that abstract superstitious fear of witches and sorcerers, and their power of crossing one's path, which Sir Matthew Hale firmly believed in, but a fiendish operative superstition that overpowered the mind and rendered the victim a passive instrument in the hands of the obeah-man—a negro sorcerer, who, to consummate his diabolical art, cared not whether it was accomplished by terror or poison. The negro population have a strong tendency to believe in this invisible debasing power, whose concomitants are terror and death. In all their feuds and jealousies they apply to the obeah-man, who, for a fee, adopts never-failing measures to change the purposes of the offending party. He either strikes his victim with a slavish fear, or causes him to end his days by a lingering and wretched death ! The dark truculent dealings of these necromancers are brought prominently out in every court of justice ; and their machinations will continue to enslave the negroes in miserable thralldom until education be diffused over the land.

Liberty without intelligence is equivalent to barbarism ; so that, in their present condition, barbarism may be predicated of the West Indian negro population. They have been cast adrift, and, like gulf-weeds, float hither and thither with every current of opinion, without any fixed governing principle or acknowledged plan to meliorate their intellectual state, or elevate them one step above their African progenitors. To leave them alone would be fatal to their moral and religious improvement. To force the European population to withdraw their capital, and leave these fertile islands to the lately emancipated blacks, would be to extinguish the dawn of civilization, and immerse our unfortunate Colonies in Cimmerian darkness.*

It is a favourite aphorism in all slave countries, that the negro is specifically inferior in mental constitution to the Caucasian variety of the human race. This maxim is fondly cherished by the American slaveholders as a salvo for their "peculiar constitution." To combat an opinion so diametrically opposed to Scripture, where God has made all nations of one blood, would

* There are creditable exceptions to this assertion, as intelligent black persons may be found filling public and private situations of responsibility with great fidelity. The prejudice of colour is for ever done away with, and the distinguishing test for advancement in society is merit.

lead beyond the bounds of these brief observations. We are no more entitled to pronounce the degraded naked savage, who roams the desert and gluts his cannibal propensities over his human sacrifice, as a being of lower organization and mental inferiority to the present enlightened race of mankind, than to say that the painted Britons in the time of Julius Cæsar, themselves anthropophagi, and our own progenitors, belonged to an inferior race, whose minds were unsusceptible of improvement, and only a step above the brutes of the field.

I am of the opinion of Sir William Jones, that "all men are born with an equal capacity for improvement." From my long acquaintance with the negro race, and from having had ample opportunities of observing their *instincts*, habits, sentiments, and passions, in sickness and in health, under the depressing influence of bondage, and the soul-stirring influence of freedom, I have been impressed with an irresistible conviction, that had Africans enjoyed the same advantages, and for as many successive ages, as their European brethren, they would have equalled them in intellectual development and physical organization.

It would seem as if Great Britain had received heaven's favoured commission to civilize and evangelize a race which, even in their debased state, possesses many amiable qualities; and is highly susceptible of social and religious improvement. The great missionary work for the regeneration of Africa must centre in the West Indies; and to render that operative and effectual, a systematic scheme of state education, possessing more vital activity than the present ineffectual and ill-supported method of teaching in these islands, must be adopted. A thick dark veil of ignorance, superstition, and African reminiscences enshrouds the bulk of the black population lately emancipated, and will require to be removed before immigration can be safely carried out to any great extent. To introduce indiscriminately masses of Africans, fierce, savage, and uncontrolled in their passions, without adequate means for their civilization and education, would be dangerous to the peace and safety of the present population, and little better than modified slavery to the immigrants themselves.

A great deal has been accomplished in diffusing the blessings of religion in our West Indian Colonies by every Christian denomination. Much more remains to be done. Many districts are

lying in spiritual darkness, awaiting the visit of the missionary. The direct and liberal assistance of Government, and the generous contributions of the Christian public, are required as accessories to render emancipation a blessing instead of a curse. There need be no jealousy among the ministers of the Gospel—there is ample room for all. The Church of England has taken a deep interest in this noble work, and has spread her usefulness far and wide; but the want of funds operates detrimentally against Church extension and educational purposes. Why has the Church of Scotland been so reluctant to send forth her devoted bands of missionaries to Jamaica? The present limited number have effected glorious things which do honour to the pious and learned divines now in the field. The scope of their usefulness must be enlarged, so as to enable them to sow the spiritual seed broadcast over the land, that their harvest may be rich and abundantly fruitful. Why do not the devout and peaceable Wesleyans, “the friends of all and the enemies of none,” extend the sphere of their precious enterprise, already so well begun, and make the hills and valleys of that beautiful island rejoice and blossom as the rose? Why do not every sect who name the name of Jesus, and worship him in sincerity and in truth, enter this great arena, and preach Christ crucified to the expectant blacks? The people are in lack of secular and religious teaching. British philanthropists have freed the body, but they have left the mind in fetters. These creatures, however, must not be allowed to remain any longer in ignorance. They must be elevated in their social position, enlightened in the understanding, and freed from the gall of bitterness and the bonds of iniquity.

The great desideratum for the emancipated negroes is knowledge. Do to others as we would be done by, is our guide in this all-important work. Great Britain freed nearly a million of slaves, and in effecting a measure, at once brilliant and benevolent, she temporarily threw every thing out of order, paralyzing commerce, suspending agriculture, and putting it out of the power of the impoverished Colonists any longer to contribute to the education of the people. While they had the means they spared neither trouble nor expense, prior to and after freedom, to render education accessible to the rising generation. Every parish had a school supported at the parochial expense. Some had two and

even three; and many liberal-minded gentlemen founded and supported schools and chapels on their estates, and at their own expense, which unfortunately their circumstances have compelled them to abandon.

Having cast off the physical bonds of their fellow-men without emancipating them from intellectual bondage, it is the bounden duty of the mother country to secure to the negroes a sound system of moral training, upon which to found the secular and religious education of that class. However desirous the Colonists themselves may be to see this scheme accomplished, the financial difficulties in which they are involved render them utterly helpless and unable to give pecuniary aid. The responsibility of whatever may happen for neglecting this measure of paramount necessity, must therefore rest upon the heads of those who have been accessory to the disorganization of our Colonies.

In adopting a liberally-organized scheme of education for the West Indies, I would strongly urge it as a State measure, until at least these invaluable islands shall have been again resuscitated. In emancipating the slaves the nation was pledged to carry out the important measure of negro education upon comprehensive principles; and this tardy measure of justice can no longer be withheld without imminent danger of throwing the whole black population into a rapid state of retrogression and demoralization. The advantages of an elementary education should be extended to every creed and colour without money and without price; nay I would be inclined to go farther, and, with the crude materials upon which we have to operate, adopt a system similar to that which answers so well in several parts of the German States.* The *teacher* of a public school in Germany may demand the attendance of all those not already attached to private schools, and

* Since writing the above I observe that among the decrees relative to the emancipation of the slaves in the French Colonies, a similar measure is about to be adopted. Elementary free schools for the children of both sexes are to be established in every district, to which fathers, mothers, or guardians, shall be obliged to send their children, under a penalty of fifteen days' imprisonment. Independently of these schools, a normal school of arts and manufactures is to be opened in each colony, and a lyceum in Guadeloupe. Such a vigorous system of education ought to have been adopted in all our Colonies in the initial of freedom. The French have seen our fatal mistake, and wish to obviate the evils arising from ignorance and sloth.

if the parents offer the least resistance, the assistance of the magistrate is invoked, and contumacy is punished with imprisonment, and the children sent to school. A system somewhat similar is highly requisite at present in our Colonies, where the ignorance, superstition, and vice of the parents render it a matter of perfect indifference whether their children receive the blessings of education or not. Every friend of the African race who views the present perilous condition of the rising generation, would hail such a measure with unspeakable delight, as fraught with immediate benefit and future good.

A difficulty, amounting almost to an impossibility, exists at the present time to obtrude education on the rising black generation. There was more value attached to it during the apprenticeship term, than has been since freedom, as the parents entertained an idea that it was a part of the machinery by which that great end was to be effected. This apparent difficulty might be easily overcome by an unexpensive education, enforced with the authority of the Executive, imposing a fine on all parents who throw any impediment in the way of sending their children to the parochial free schools. The numerous parish schools in Scotland, and the nominal cost of instruction, bring education home to the very door of the humblest of the peasantry; and, as Dr Chalmers justly observes, "education has been visibly obtruded on the notice of every little vicinity, and had it not been for this aggression upon them from without, the people would have felt no impulse towards education from within, and so would have stood fast in their primeval ignorance." It is standing fast in the depth of their primeval ignorance and slavish superstition that is so much to be dreaded in the present critical state of West Indian Society; and, unless promptly obviated by this or some similarly devised plan, will entail misery upon the rising generation, and destroy the fruits of emancipation. Any measure, bearing the semblance of coercion, to reclaim this desert of intellect, may be deemed improper by sentimentalists; but when it is taken into consideration that we are dealing with youth (as well as with wild African immigrants), the ignorance of whose parents precludes them from having the least conception of what education means, it will appear the more evident that the State ought to assume the

functions of a wise parent, and adopt such conservative* measures for the diffusion of knowledge among young people as will render them safe, and useful, and intelligent members of society. Prussia and Saxony have as the result of such enlightened policy obtained order, happiness, and systematic industry.

To obviate any objection to a system of State education, and to secure the cordial co-operation of every Christian sect, it would be necessary to separate the literary or secular instruction from religious teaching. Once admit this as a principle to be acted upon, and the assent of every Christian denomination is gained. This all-important concession might be freely granted without excluding the Bible, the best code of ethics which the world ever beheld, and the surest foundation of the Christian's hope. The religious education, as a matter of course, would then devolve upon those who had a legitimate right to the inculcation of their own peculiar Christian tenets ; and the organization of Sunday schools, and the extension of church accommodation, would give a vital efficiency to their labours of love.

In organizing a system of State education for the present necessities of our West Indian Colonies, two-thirds of the schoolmasters should be obtained from Great Britain. Not that many excellent and competent young men are to be found in these islands, but upon the principle of introducing a perpetual stream of European *mind* for years to come. This is a most important consideration, and the want of such a precaution has kept Hayti in a loathsome state of immorality and barbarism.

Jamaica is divided into three counties, and contains twenty-two parishes, many of the latter being as large, and some even larger than Barbadoes. Not less than three schoolmasters should be assigned to each parish on an average, or sixty-six teachers, with an inspector triennially chosen by themselves ; the whole to be under the supervision of a board of control to be appointed by the governor. Each school station to be in the most convenient locality and populous district, with a due regard to the salubrity of

* A system of State education is by no means intended to supersede any schools at present established in the West Indian islands ; for the coercive measures here recommended are to be applied only in cases where children are found attending no place of instruction.

the site, to comprise twenty acres of good land, and have a plain well-ventilated school-room erected of sufficient size to contain 150 scholars, with a genteel comfortable cottage for the school-master and his family. To accomplish this measure, Government would have to grant Jamaica £56,100 for the purchase of land and the erection of buildings, besides an annual grant of £7000, until the island was once more able to pay its own expenses. The probable expense of this educational scheme for Jamaica, including the purchase of land, buildings, and salaries to schoolmasters, might be comprised in the following sketch :—

1320 acres of land, at £5 per acre, for sixty-six establishments,	£ 6600	0	0
Sixty-six school-rooms, built with wood, on a brick foundation, say £500 each,	33,000	0	0
Sixty-six cottages for schoolmasters, at £250 each,	16,500	0	0
Total cost of land and buildings,	£56,100	0	0

As an inducement for respectable and well-educated schoolmasters to leave home, the salaries should be fixed at L.100 sterling per annum, with the use of the cottage and land attached, rent free, besides allowing them to receive fees from those of the more respectable classes who might object to an eleemosynary system of education. Assuming the whole population of our West Indian islands to exceed a little more than double the population of Jamaica, it would require a grant from Government of L.120,000, for the purchase of land and the erection of school-rooms and cottages, with an additional annual sum of £15,000 for the payment of the requisite number of qualified schoolmasters to supply the whole of these colonies. It may be deemed exceedingly unreasonable to ask for such a large grant for the education of the emancipated negroes; grant that it is so; but when we reflect that the colonists are no longer able to administer to the intellectual wants of an ignorant population, Government must either take up the scheme of education, where the poverty of the colonists compelled them to leave off, or the people must revert to barbarism. No reasonable excuse can be urged for withholding pecuniary assistance for such a purpose, nor can Government consistently object to this measure, seeing that they have granted such liberal sums for educational purposes in the United Kingdom.

It should be expressly enjoined that none be engaged but young married men of unblemished character, and thoroughly trained to modern teaching in the normal schools at home. In addition to his salary and the use of land, with the advantages of keeping a horse, cows, and small stock, he would, by his own exertions, and an hour's work of his scholars, drilled out of doors in the industrial department, convert his land into a complete garden, as a model for his pupils to take example by, when they shall launch out in their agricultural pursuits. This would render his situation one of competency and plenty, enable him to bring up his family respectably, and thoroughly reconcile him to his inter-tropical residence.

Besides the sound education which the scholars would receive at these parochial schools, they would be taught by precept and example, what under present circumstances they cannot receive, the principles of morality and industry, the habits of civilized life, of foresight, self-control, and rigid economy. Every day would educe some appropriate moral, some beautiful tale to inculcate virtue, and these accomplished teachers would moreover illustrate the habits, and customs, and enterprize of the British people in ten thousand ways, so as to engrave such lessons in their young susceptible hearts, to be carried into practical effect on after life.

In the mid-day interval the pupils would accompany the master to the *model farm*, there to be taught the rudiments of modern agriculture, the preparation and cultivation of the soil, the value of manure, the use of the spade in delving, draining, and ditching, the planting of timber trees, the culture of coffee, cotton, tobacco, and vines. They might also be taught the manufacture of cocoa-nut fibre, indigo, and cochineal, the preparation of various vegetable oils, the preservation of numberless fruits, the economy of bees,* and the like, all of which could be done in a fascinating way, so as to give a *taste* for the various useful manipulations practised in these industrial schools. Such a plan is imperatively required at the present critical time, as parents, pluming themselves on freedom, consider it derogatory to their dignity to train their children to agricultural pursuits. By small rewards for skill and merit, a knowledge of the most essential branches of agriculture

* Wax and honey form considerable items in the exports of Cuba.

might be imparted to the rising generation, without which they will grow up in total ignorance of many things which even slaves were taught.

I attach infinite importance to a parochial system of education, somewhat similar to that established in Scotland, to which industrial agricultural occupations shall be superadded, to be principally taught by well-educated British schoolmasters. To a mental system of training might be added the social lessons of domestic life. Each of the school stations, with its neat, clean cottage, its skilfully cultivated land, its vinery, its apiary and dairy, its trimmed fences and gravelled walks, would silently work a most gratifying change over the face of the country, again to be regenerated, and fan the slumbering embers of civilization into active life. The lessons received in numberless attractive ways would be imparted to their friends at home, and the children would thus become the instruments of teaching their parents the most rational way to develop the endless resources of a rich country.

Civilization in these fair islands stands still at this moment ; and to stand still is to die. "Progression and development" are blended with the spirit of the times. Our Colonies being now freed from the curse of slavery, let us endeavour to free them from what is worse, the curse of indolence and the reproach of ignorance. This great reform cannot be exclusively effected by any party or sect ; it must be accomplished by the combined and unanimous exertions of good men. Apart from the golden precept, "Do to others as ye would be done by," the very nature of the case calls on every member of society to co-operate with the clergymen and schoolmasters in rescuing their fellow-creatures from ignorance, and raising the standard of intellect in our unfortunate Colonies.

The cardinal measures for the regeneration of our Colonies, namely, European and African immigration and education, having been discussed, a passing glance is all that can be bestowed on other remedial measures. Of these, protection from slave competition is indispensably necessary to the agricultural existence of the West Indian Colonies.

We have it on the best authority that sugar of an excellent quality can be profitably made by slave labour in Porto Rico for 8s 6d, and in Cuba for 10s to 12s a hundredweight, while we

have it on equally authentic authority that the bare price of manufacturing one hundredweight of sugar by free labour in our own Colonies is 22s;* and to give common interest on vested capital 27s. This shows that, without a differential duty, the West Indies must succumb. To afford an adequate protection, therefore, to our Colonies, 10s a hundredweight on sugar, and 4d per pound on coffee, ought, in common honesty, to be guaranteed, until the progress of events sweeps away slavery for ever. The days of that unhallowed system are numbered. France has erased slavery from her statute-book; and the Portuguese are preparing the way for emancipating their slaves. It is a subject of deep regret for the Christian public, whose exertions in the cause of freedom were founded on the purest benevolence, that our Colonies should have been paralyzed at the very time when the successful example under freedom was about to shake slavery to its basis. Will those who fought the battle of British colonial emancipation stand by with folded arms and see the fruits of that glorious measure destroyed? Will a penny a pound, saved by using slave sugar, calm the consciences of thinking men, and reconcile them to barbarous freedom, ruined Colonies, alienated affections, and bitter, unmitigated slavery? If not; justice will triumph, and our Colonies be saved.

Among other auxiliary measures are loans of money for the improvement of property on the terms conceded to landed proprietors in the United Kingdom, loans for the construction of railroads,† central manufactories, and tramroads, similar to those in Guadaloupe and Martinique, to enable proprietors to separate the agricultural, chemical, and carrying processes as much as

* I am aware that sugar has been lately sold in Cuba for 8s per cwt., and that in some favourable situations in our own Colonies it has been produced at a few shillings less than the average sum stated. These statements, however, are exceptions, and do not invalidate the general statement. It has been customary of late with a certain class of political economists to assert that the inferior fertility of the soil is the cause of the inability of the colonists to compete with Cuba. Nothing can be more erroneous, as Demerara, Trinidad, and Jamaica have a superabundance of rich virgin soil unopened, and most estates in these spacious Colonies have alluvial lands which, with common care, can never be exhausted.

† The only railway in the British West Indies is that between Kingston and Spanishtown, a distance of twelve miles, while in Cuba they have 800 miles of railroad completed. The facilities for constructing railroads in Jamaica are such that confidence has only to be restored to see that island intersected with them.

possible ; the admission of our colonial products into the British markets as raw materials, and to be as free from duty as the corn of Yorkshire when carried to London, together with the establishment of botanical gardens, model farms, and the appointment of agricultural chemists.

The colonists in general ask for no repeal of the navigation laws, by means of which the present commercial prosperity of Great Britain has been attained, and which they look upon as the bulwark of our naval supremacy, inasmuch as they could only be obtained at the expense of a class which they do not wish to see injured for any advantage likely to accrue to themselves. The Americans, on the contrary, are most solicitous for the abrogation of these laws, which would be virtually conceding the whole commerce and carrying trade of our Colonies to that enterprising people. They have already usurped the greater part of the Irish provision trade ; and not only do beef, pork, butter, and other supplies, arrive daily in great quantity, but they are successfully pushing their textile fabrics into the West Indian markets, to the exclusion of British manufactured goods.*

The colonists would have been under no necessity of asking any concessions from the mother country, had their interests been respected, as gradual ameliorative measures would otherwise have been in operation ; but, seeing all their institutions subverted, and ruin staring them in the face, they sue for them, not in *forma pauperis*, but as British subjects, to whom full indemnification is due for injury sustained, to suit national expediency.

Among many other calumnies circulated against the colonists, they have been accused of want of energy and skill in the modern improvements of agriculture, at a time when their exertions were stretched to the utmost, and exorbitant taxation † cheerfully submitted to, in order to put the machinery of freedom into mo-

* "The manufactories of the United States," said President Polk, in his last message to the House of Representatives, "are in a prosperous state, and yielding adequate profits." I have travelled through the United States on two different occasions, at an interval of eight years, and nothing struck me so forcibly as the rapid strides the Americans were making in their manufactures. They are anxious to assist Great Britain in supplying the world with manufactured goods.

† The average public expenditure for the three years ending the 30th September

tion, to test the promised advantages of that system. Let us shew the fallacy of these accusations.

When emancipation was proclaimed, the proprietary body set vigorously to work, to accommodate themselves to the change, and spared neither exertion nor expense in giving an impulse to freedom. The abridgement of manual labour, by the substitution of improved machinery, in every department where practicable, was carried into effect. Science, skill, and economy were invoked and appreciated; and such agricultural works as those of Davy, Johnston, and Liebeg, were diligently studied by every overseer. English horses were introduced along with the plough, hitherto partially, but now generally used, to supersede the slower method of opening cane holes by the hoe; and the most approved agricultural implements were freely supplied to every estate. The quality of the soil was now narrowly inspected, and in many instances submitted to analysis. Appropriate manures (in addition to flying cattle-pens, hitherto in use) were extensively imported. Trenching, draining, and irrigation, received that consideration so justly due to them; and deepening the soil, and bringing the subsoil to the surface in fields partially exhausted, were attended to with commendable zeal.

With the universal desire existing to test the practical effects of freedom, every subsidiary effort was resorted to. District agri-

1846, has been L.277,139, the parochial expenditure for the same period, L.117,494 making the total expenditure of the whole island, L.394,633.

A great proportion of this enormous taxation, which the proprietary body submitted to, was for the support of ecclesiastical, judicial, and educational purposes, in order that freedom might be rendered a practical blessing. The colonists are no longer able to carry out these benevolent plans, and the noble exertions of a people struggling against unexampled difficulties must be given up.

The Jamaica Chamber of Commerce, of the 22d of March, in one of its resolutions, speaks decidedly upon this matter, and recommends "that all farther public progression, in the erection of new public institutions, shall be at once arrested; that this Chamber strongly urge upon the Vestries to curtail their estimates of contemplated expenditure for the ensuing year, to the lowest possible bounds, short of abandoning entirely the parochial institutions.

The Court of Policy in Demarara, of March, speaks equally clear on this point. One of its resolutions states, "that, in the present state of the Colony, the Court cannot proceed to vote the estimates, or take any part in raising the supplies, as the source of income from which the colonial expenditure has hitherto been defrayed has ceased to be productive, and this Court is consequently deprived of the means of providing the necessary funds to support their local government, and institutions of the Colony."

cultural societies were organized, and the best agricultural books added to their libraries. Ploughing matches were of frequent occurrence; and the annual competition of these associations were witnessed by numerous planters from neighbouring parishes, which began to take great interest in scientific agriculture. Prizes were keenly contended for, and awarded for skill and merit, and not the least gratifying feature of the day was to witness a dozen of ploughs start with the distinguishing ribbons of the estates to which they belonged, flying from the bonnets of the European and African ploughmen, contending for victory in the "most friendly manner. Medals, bearing such appropriate mottoes as, "population, capital, and enterprise," were awarded for the best samples of sugar and coffee; and pecuniary rewards were distributed to servants producing their master's certificate, backed by the clergyman, for fidelity and good behaviour. The improvement of stock was not lost sight of, and prize animals were imported from England, to improve the breed of horses, cattle, and sheep.

The Royal Agricultural Society of Jamaica, patronized by our most gracious Sovereign, was founded upon these spirited beginnings; and the Earl of Elgin, with noble generosity, offered handsome premiums for the best essays on the culture of the cane, and manufacture of sugar and coffee, which had the effect of producing keen competition from the pens of practical planters which would have done credit to the pages of the Agricultural Society of England, or the Highland Society of Scotland.

While proprietors, overseers, and others interested in the cultivation of estates, were putting forth their utmost energies to render successful an experiment upon which the agricultural existence of Jamaica depended, the Legislature of that island were actuated by an equally cordial desire to carry into effect, and even anticipate, the wishes of her Majesty's Government. The most ample provisions were made for Judicial, Ecclesiastical, and Educational purposes; an Immigration Society was established under the auspices of the Executive, and the munificent grant of £150,000 sterling (besides other sums) was placed at the disposal of the Board of Commissioners to supply the country with a labouring population, and two fine vessels were purchased to trade between Sierra Leone and Jamaica, to carry out the views of the Immigration Society. The scheme of free African immigration,

so often urged upon Government, and for which such extraordinary provisions had been made, did not receive active support from that quarter, and consequently became inoperative. The free Africans thus obtained proved of eminent service to some crippled estates which were so fortunate as to procure them, and saved them at that time from being abandoned. That local source (Sierra Leone immigration) having dried up, and no possibility of procuring regular employment for the vessels, they were sold, and the colonists in despair turned to India for a supply of efficient Coolies, a limited number of whom arrived in time to witness the disastrous effects of the Sugar Bill of 1846, consequently their services were no longer required.

These exertions, aided by unremitting perseverance, infused a temporary vitality into every branch of agriculture. The plough and the steam-engine were again vigorously at work. The colonists, inspired with Ministerial assurances and freed from the incubus of slavery, breathed freer, and cherished the fond hope of permanently improving their property, so long the subject of intermeddling experimentalists. They were sanguine of success, and only wanted the promised assistance of labourers to encrease their crops far beyond what they had been in the zenith of colonial prosperity. They likewise entertained reasonable expectations that the result of their success would prove a powerful incentive to the slave-owners to imitate the brilliant experiment of the British Colonies in emancipating their slaves. Alas! these hopes were evanescent! Pledges were broken, fiscal regulations were imposed, and the confiding colonists were betrayed!

The colonists venerate the name and respect the laws of the mother country. Their loyalty, customs, habits, and sentiments are identical with those of the virtuous part of the nation from which they sprung. They maintain in fervid and manly language that they are not aliens—that they are *de jure et de facto* British subjects, and that, as such, they are entitled to British protection. Vibrating between hope and despair, they look with extreme solicitude to the administrations of the present Parliament. Vain promises will no longer calm their disquietude. The eleventh hour has arrived, and nothing short of the most efficient and promptly executed measures will avail in rescuing the Colonies from destruction.

APPENDIX.

The recommendation of the foregoing measures pre-supposes the critical state in which our Colonies are placed, but as it did not form any part of my plan to enter at length into the causes of their disorganization, I can only slightly advert to a few of those which produced great agricultural and commercial embarrassment on the very threshold of freedom ; and which were year after year persisted in, until the climax of Colonial distress was effected by the unfortunate Sugar Bill of 1846.

The important article Coffee, which forms so valuable a branch of agriculture in Jamaica, and which promised to reward the labour of the black population settled on their own lands and stimulate them to industry, was subjected to what was called the Cape of Good Hope subterfuge duty. In 1838, British plantation coffee paid a duty of 6d a pound, while Foreign coffee paid 1s 3d, and under the plea of admitting all coffee east of the Cape at 9d, cargoes of that produce were carried from Brazil, landed at the Cape, re-shipped, and brought certificates admitting it into Great Britain as coffee *bona fide* grown east of that Colony. In 1842, the duty on West India coffee was again reduced to 4d, and Foreign to 8d, at a time of unparalleled distress, which was the subject of remonstrances against fiscal alterations threatening the extinction of that valuable staple, raised at such an enormous expense owing to the deficiency of labourers and high wages.

These remonstrances were unheeded, and although every day witnessed the abandonment of rich plantations, the ministerial hand of exaction was again at work in 1844 ; and, in the face of reiterated remonstrances from every parish in the island, backed by an eloquent memorial from the House of Assembly to her Majesty, the differential duty of 4d. per pound on slave coffee was reduced one half, while no reduction was made on our produce. This nominal protective duty of 2d. per pound is totally inadequate to arrest the ruin of the coffee

planter, and already hundreds of beautiful properties, with rich fields, valuable buildings and machinery, and superabundant virgin woodland, have been abandoned, while the remainder are rapidly following the same course. "The experience of another year," says the memorial to her Majesty, "evinces, we lament to state, that the situation of the proprietary body of this island becomes more and more appalling—that the abandonment of the greater part of the sugar and coffee plantations seems fast approaching, involving, as yet, the uncompensated extinction of immense capital, invested in freeholds and manufactories. In almost every district of the island, the progress towards abandonment is manifest, and the representation of the custodes and chief magistrates of the several parishes, made pursuant to the requisition of this House, authenticate cases of ruin perfect, and peril impending, which cause the most fearful forebodings. In the midst of universal gloom and disaster, we look with confidence towards our most gracious Sovereign, and a Conservative Government, to throw over us the protection which we claim as due to a long course of fidelity and loyalty, and to our great sacrifices, in endeavouring to co-operate with your Majesty's Government, in carrying out the benevolent scheme of negro emancipation. A reduction on the duties of Muscovado sugar, and British plantation coffee, would afford signal relief to your Majesty's West India Colonies; but if that measure be accompanied by an incommensurate reduction of the duties on foreign slave-grown sugar and coffee as shall trench on that protection at present vouchsafed to us, then will the fate of your Majesty's ancient and loyal Colony of Jamaica be sealed; her sufferings in the cause of philanthropy rendered abortive; negro emancipation prove a visionary phantom; and the fetters of the African elsewhere become rivetted and extended." No language could have been more prophetic!

A modification of the sugar duties in favour of free-labour sugar was made the subject of a debate in the House of Commons, in the session 1843-4. The most distinguished members of Parliament, as well as the ministers of the Crown, expressed their sentiments in favour of the claims to which the Colonists were entitled, and most emphatically declared that they ought to be protected by a *permanent* differential duty of 10s. per cwt. against free-labour sugar, and a total exclusion of the sugar and coffee of Cuba and Brazil.

The President of the Board of Trade said—

"Honourable gentlemen said the matter would still be in a state of uncertainty. *If they considered that the assurances of Parliament, and the votes of Parliament, were worthless, they might say that the*

proposed measure conveyed no certainty as to the future. But with what statements did the Chancellor of the Exchequer announce his proposal? His right honourable friend said, that one of his objects was to check the tendency to increase of price; and that another was, to make known to the producer of British sugar, in the first place, *that it was intended by the Government, and by Parliament, if it should adopt their plan, to restrict the competition he had to contend with to the free-labour sugar of other countries, and not to admit slave-grown sugar into that competition; and, secondly, to place clearly and fairly before him the amount of protection which he might expect to be maintained.*"

On a subsequent occasion, Sir Robert Peel (then Prime Minister) remarked—

"These are the general grounds on which we still entertain the opinion that, though it may be safe with regard to the West India interest, to permit a limited and qualified competition of sugar, the produce of free-labour, yet, that it will be dangerous to those interests to admit, at a differential duty of 10s. only, the sugar of Brazil and Cuba; and that it would be inconsistent with the course this country has taken, and the declarations we have made on the subject of slavery and the slave-trade."

Lord Stanley (then Secretary for the Colonies) spoke on the same occasion as follows—

"The proposition of the Government was to this effect: we give a differential duty of 10s. as against foreign free-grown sugar; *and we maintain an absolute exclusion of foreign slave sugar, against the admission of which the West Indians have a double claim.*" "We intend to give notice to the producers of foreign free sugar, that, after a limited period, they shall be admitted into competition with British West India producers; *and we announce to both one and the other, that they shall have permanent protection against the importation of foreign slave-grown sugar.*"

Such were the deliberate sentiments of a Conservative Government, the *ultima ratio*, as the Colonists thought, to this long vexed question. They received these expressions in good faith, as pledges of the British Government, that they would be no more interfered with; and, accordingly, capital was embarked to a vast amount, in extending their cultivation, and otherwise improving their properties, to enable them to enter into successful competition with the free labour of the world.

A change of ministry deemed it expedient that these measures, so recently promised to the distressed planters, should be rescinded.

The Sugar Bill of 1846 was passed to admit slave-grown produce by instalments, till they were admitted into Great Britain (in 1851) on terms of equality with our own free-grown produce. This measure was the climax of colonial misfortunes, and the fate of our Colonies, for weal or for woe, must soon be decided.

With the destruction of our West Indian Colonies the monopoly will pass over into the hands of slave-owners, and they will not only have to supply the European Continent with sugar and coffee, but will also be expected to fill up the *hiatus* caused by the cessation of British colonial cultivation. Cuba, Porto Rico, and Brazil, even with all their unrivalled prosperity and superlative advantages, will find it utterly impossible to produce an additional ton of sugar without an accession of slave strength. The slaves in these colonies are at present overstrained. It is a fallacy, therefore, to think that they can produce 200,000 tons of sugar to supplement their present enormous crops, without an increase of African slaves, numerically equal to our British emancipated labourers. Should any such demand be required, the Americans will immediately abandon the cultivation of cotton,* and apply themselves to the more profitable speculation of supplying the British market with slave-grown sugar. Such a procedure would involve the Manchester manufacturers in ruin. But apart from this, the importation of an additional quantity of slaves from Africa, would be attended with the most disastrous consequences. Slavery would thereby be established on a firmer basis, and Britons be compelled to pay a monopoly price for sugar.

* " The cultivation of cotton in Louisiana had given way to that of sugar.

" In 1844, 70 estates were put into sugar cultivation.

" In 1846-7, the receipts of sugar were then 80,000 tons, though the crop had suffered from frost.

" In 1845-6, 90,000 tons.

" In 1841-2, 50,000 tons.

" The receipt of cotton had fallen off.

" In Louisiana the cost of sugar was 12s. 6d. per cwt.; 2000 lbs. of sugar was obtained from one acre; 4000 lbs. from the labour of a slave.

" In the West Indies 4000 lbs. of sugar from one acre, 2800 lbs. from a labourer."

The Evidence of S. B. Moody, Esq., civil engineer, before Lord George Bentinck's Committee.

A TABLE OF THE RELATIVE NATURE OF SLAVE AND FREE LABOUR.

THE SLAVE IN CUBA.

The slave works 16 hours out of the 24.

The slave gives his labour for nothing.

The slave is stimulated to his work by the whip.

The slave is a mere machine, whose bondage only terminates at death.

The slave is denied the comforts of a home; and should he have a family they are liable to be torn from him.

The slave has only three days to enjoy himself at Christmas.

The Sabbath is desecrated by the slave system; and education and religion are unknown to the Cuba slave.

THE FREEMAN IN JAMAICA.

The freeman works 5 hours out of the 24.

The freeman sells it at a high price.

The freeman is stimulated by money.

The freeman is a voluntary agent, and may rise to the highest honours of the land.

The freeman has a happy home, and is protected by powerful and equal laws.

The freeman takes three weeks, besides the feasts of Easter and August.

The Sabbath in Jamaica is generally respected and observed; education and religious instruction are within the reach of all, if they choose to avail themselves of them.



ERRATA.

Page 11, 5th line, note, for "Wortly Park," read "Worthy Park."

Page 15, 3d line from the bottom of the text, instead of "funds," read "hands."

Page 30, 5th line of third paragraph, for "rivet," read "unrivet."

Page 33, 3d line from the bottom, for "peculiar constitution," read "peculiar institution."

Page 40, last line of second paragraph, instead of "on," read "in."

Page 45, 5th line from the top, for "which," read "who."

Page 46, 9th line from the top, for "efficient Coolies," read "effeminate Coolies."



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